

The Suffragist

FIVE CENTS

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

MARCH 20, 1915



"The Finances of the Federal Government Must be Readjusted"

\$2,231,000,000 Was Appropriated by the Sixty-Third Congress—\$165,000 for the Nation's Children

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union
for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

ART EDITOR, MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER

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Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

Non-Partisan



Object—

Securing an amendment to the United States Constitution, enfranchising women.

Membership—

Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will work without considering the interests of any national political party.

Dues—

Entrance fee of twenty-five cents. There are no other dues.

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News of the Week

States' Rights' Politicians at Home Suffrage Campaign in Texas

MISS HELEN TODD, who with Miss Jane Pin-cus has been campaigning for suffrage in Texas, writes: "One month after Texas Democrats in Congress had voted solidly against the Federal Amendment on the ground that they believed in submitting the question to the states, a Texas legislature composed entirely of Democrats

killed a state suffrage bill; nevertheless, the Texas papers were stirred to fury when I warned them that if woman suffrage was defeated by Democratic legislators in the state as well as in the nation, the Democratic Party would certainly have no claim to the support of women.

Women Workers in Texas

THE fifty-four-hour week bill for women workers, which is practically certain to pass this session of the Texas legislature, has been greatly weakened by the exclusion of textile workers from its protection. Senator Bee, the author of the measure, explained that he had had to consent to their exclusion against his will, because fourteen senators told him that otherwise they would not vote for the bill.

Suffrage in Pennsylvania

THE resolution proposing an equal suffrage amendment to the state constitution passed the Pennsylvania Senate by a vote of 37-11 at a night session on March 16. This vote completes the legislative action necessary to put the question before the voters next November.

Suffrage Poll of New York Women

A POLL of women in New York City and seven other cities in New York State on the question of equal suffrage has been made by several New York City newspapers. The result shows that the women want the vote. The women asked to express their wishes were representative of every class, and the figures procured are believed to fairly indicate the desires of the women of the state. Of the women in Greater New York who replied to the request for their votes, 77 per cent were in favor of suffrage and 23 per cent opposed. Of the "up-state" women 70 per cent were in favor and 30 per cent opposed.

Municipal Elections in New York and New Jersey

WOMEN displayed active interest on March 16th in the elections in New York State and New Jersey. In both places the suffrage question comes before the voters next fall. Jersey women had an eye to the future, and spent the greater part of the day at the polls distributing pamphlets on suffrage. In New York they confined their activity to the questions upon which they have the right to vote.

Bronxville, in Westchester County, N. Y., saw the hottest election it has had since its incorporation, and women touched the match. Full returns had not come in up to midnight, but Mrs. Isabel W. Allen was elected school trustee on the citizens' ticket over William Jones, Republican candidate.

All day the women of the village kept their automobiles busy carrying voters to the polls. Many of the women made public addresses favoring Mrs. Allen's ticket. Among them was Mrs. William L. Colt, a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union.

Plans to Continue Work for Child Labor Bill

THE National Child Labor Committee announces that a new campaign for a federal child-labor law will be launched as soon as Congress re-convenes. At the trustees' meeting in New York City, at which this announcement was made, Dr. A. J. McKelway, Southern Secretary of the Committee, pointed out that while Senator Overman, of North Carolina, whose objection to the Palmer-Owen Child-Labor Bill defeated it in the Senate, contended that child labor was a state problem, North Carolina had the least effective child-labor law of any industrial state.

Teacher-Mothers in Chicago

THE school management committee of the Chicago public schools has decided that teachers may become mothers without losing their positions. Teacher-mothers, however, must stay out of the schools for two years and devote these years to the child. They must also show on returning to school that the child is not being neglected. One wonders who gave this committee the right to say how women teachers should perform their private duties.

Planting a Suffrage Garden

THE suffrage-garden idea, which sprang from the mind of a Pennsylvania woman, has spread rapidly to other states. Not only the four 1915 campaign states, but many others, from Maine to Florida, from Wisconsin to Louisiana, will bloom in yellow next summer. The Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association sends from its headquarters at Harrisburg six packets each containing a different kind of seed, all producing yellow flowers, for 25 cents. With the seeds goes a booklet containing a garden-diagram and directions for so planting that golden bloom of some kind shall not fail from May till November.

War and Child Labor

THE European war furnishes a new argument for suffrage almost daily. A recent one is the willingness of the governments which have taken men from work and set them to fighting, to put children at the men's work. According to the New York Times, all children between 12 and 14 years of age have been released from school by a special decree of the Austrian Ministry, and are being organized into a labor army to work in the fields.

In England a similar measure is being discussed. It is reported that the Nottingham Education Committee has already yielded to the farmers' demand for child-labor. A relaxation of the national school law was recently debated in Parliament. The demand for it was pressed by the National Farmers' Union, and was supported by some members. It was opposed, however, by the board of education, and no definite action was taken.

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PAGEANT OF THE LIFE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY

A GREAT national suffrage pageant, based upon episodes in the life of Susan B. Anthony, has been selected as the vehicle for conveying to the minds of the members of the Sixty-fourth Congress, when they meet in Washington in the first week of next December, the exact terms of the demand which the women of the nation are making upon the national legislature. That demand is the adoption of a proposed amendment to the federal constitution, granting to women throughout the United States the same right to the ballot that men now possess.

Susan B. Anthony originated this amendment. It was the culmination of her remarkable work against the legal disabilities of women, against their exclusion from educational privileges, against the denial of their right to public speech, and in favor of equal suffrage. She drafted this measure in 1875, and from that time until her death in 1906, her highest hopes were centered in its promotion. Her successors took it up, and until a year ago it was the unquestioned program of the national movement for the enfranchisement of women.

It is because the Democratic administration has tried to sidetrack the suffrage cause by bringing in a substitute, the Palmer-Shafroth Amendment, involving the recognition of state sovereignty over this question, that a big revival of propaganda for straight-out national enfranchisement is to welcome the new Congress to the capital.

Miss Hazel MacKaye, who staged the suffrage pageant in Washington two years ago, and who has directed the suffrage pageants in New York, Cleveland, and elsewhere, has written this most daring of all stage spectacles ever presented here.

Miss MacKaye is the brilliant daughter of Steele MacKaye, and the sister of Percy MacKaye. She has in the last few years acquired a national reputation for her poetic and beautiful work in pageantry. Miss MacKaye combines a spontaneous inspiration and love of beauty with warm social interests; to this she adds a thorough knowledge of stage craft and unusual executive ability. She has studied the stage as actress and manager, and has an unusual grasp of its technique. She is perhaps the one American woman who could conceive and carry out a national pageant for women.

Miss MacKaye believes that Miss Anthony's life is a mine of dramatic material. Miss Anthony was so active, and came to grips with life at so many vital points that her history abounds in episodes which are interesting in themselves and have at the same time a deep dramatic significance. "I knew, of course, that Miss Anthony was a great woman," Miss MacKaye said, "but until I began to study her life carefully, I had no idea she was so wonderful."

The pageant of Miss Anthony's life will be given in the huge Convention Hall, and will

consist of the dramatization of episodes in Miss Anthony's life which will tell the story of her coming to the unquestioned leadership of the cause. It will seek to visualize for the new Congressmen and Senators the present-day idealism of American

problem. The propaganda in its behalf has multiplied; its converts have been active and effective everywhere. Its organization has been steadily perfected. Now, at the opening of the new Congress, it presents a concrete demand, the Susan B. Anthony amendment; and it offers to Congress in Miss MacKaye's pageantry of the life of Miss Anthony, a dramatic presentation of its demand, its reasoning and its spiritual and historical background.

After it is put on at Washington, the pageant will be produced in large cities in different parts of the country. "We hope," says Miss MacKaye, "that through the medium of art the suffrage movement will appeal to the heart as well as to the mind. No cause grows on argument alone. It needs to persuade, as well as reason; and to do this, it must touch the feelings. Over in England, the militant movement aroused among women a great passion for liberty, and by its spectacular quality carried women's demand for freedom from one end of the world to the other. It would be a beautiful thing if in America, where we have a milder opposition to encounter, the same results—of wide publicity, of sincere emotional appeal—could be obtained through art—through the drama. If it could be done, it would be a great contribution from women to their country."

The Susan B. Anthony pageant portrays in dramatic form the different succeeding events in Miss Anthony's life, beginning with her work for the better recognition of school teachers, and her protest against their exclusion from any active part in teachers' conventions. It then takes up her work in the temperance movement and other social and civic reforms, and finally it covers the different phases of her suffrage work, including her arrest for attempting to vote, her trial, and some of the more dramatic suffrage conventions in which she figured. Her life, a continuous revolt

against the traditions and laws which bound her, together with all other women, is so pictured that it will leave every audience before which it is produced, determined to carry to its final conclusion the work which she began. About four hundred participants, men and women, will take part in the pageant. Among those who have promised their aid to Miss MacKaye in its production are Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, biographer of Susan B. Anthony, who has furnished much valuable material toward the setting of the pageant, Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee and Mrs. John Jay White. "The theme of this pageant is not suffrage, you must remember," said Miss MacKaye, in summing up her plans, "but is the national amendment. When we have taken this pageant from Canada to Mexico, and from New York to San Francisco, there will be no one, I believe, in the remotest corners of the land, who does not know all about the national amendment and the great demand behind it."



Drawn by Sarah Towle Moller

MISS HAZEL MACKAYE

Author of the Pageant

women as expressed in suffrage work. It will be at once a challenge to Democratic reaction and a call to arms for every sincere advocate of woman suffrage in the new Congress.

The name of Susan B. Anthony is one to conjure with, as most Congressmen know. This pageant is intended to remind Congress that the amendment which Susan B. Anthony drafted forty years ago is still to be passed, and that in the opinion of the leaders of the movement today it has never been improved upon.

At the time the Sixty-third Congress met, woman suffrage presented itself for the first time in Washington as an issue for national lawmakers, demanding consideration on its merits, and not simply begging the favor of a formal hearing. The suffrage pageant of two years ago dealt with national enfranchisement as a general political demand.

The ensuing two years have seen suffrage grow from a distant to a very near-by national political

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10th, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25th, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34.
Absent 26, (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12th, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES AND FEDERAL REPRESENTATION

The Congressional Record of March 15th contains a speech by Mr. Fitzgerald, of Brooklyn, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, in which he laments the deplorable and growing extravagance of the federal government.

The Sixty-third Congress appropriated in the two years of its existence \$2,231,000,000;—\$113,000,000 more than was appropriated by the Congress preceding it.

These appropriations are particularly reckless in view of the business depression which is bound to be the first (though possibly a temporary) result of a reduction in the tariff; and in view also of the terrific war now engaging the great commercial nations of the world. These causes of business uncertainty were patent;—in spite of which we have appropriations greater than were ever before made in the history of the country.

The members of the Administration themselves are sobered by this alarming scale of expenditure.

On December 2, 1914 (according to Mr. Fitzgerald), the excess of ordinary disbursements over ordinary receipts was over \$55,000,000; on January 2, 1915, over \$65,000,000; on February 2, 1915, over \$72,000,000; and on March 2, 1915, over \$83,000,000.

On March 2, 1915, however, the expenditures during the present fiscal year on account of the Panama Canal were over \$21,000,000; so the expenditures of the government exceeded its revenues during the current fiscal year to March 2d by over \$103,000,000.

If this keeps up during the remaining four months of the present fiscal year, Mr. Fitzgerald points out, the deficit exclusive of Panama Canal expenditures will be over \$103,000,000; and including such expenditures, about \$133,000,000.

The same national Administration that has appropriated and expended such enormous sums of the people's money, has been the one to declare that the question of representation for the people was not a national issue. To tax women is the right and duty of the federal government; to consider their claim to say how their money shall be used, does not lie within its jurisdiction. Mr. Wilson's "passion for local self-government" prevents his giving our claim to national enfranchisement any consideration whatever.

The situation apparently does not disturb the President's earnest self-approval. "I assert with the greatest confidence," said Mr. Wilson, in an annual message, "that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their Government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay."

How is Mr. Wilson to be sure that women get what they need and desire while they are deprived of the right to express at the polls their needs and their desires?

The future historian will marvel at the picture of Mr. Wilson taxing women, politely refusing to consider their right to representation, and congratulating them at the same time that their money is being spent exactly as they wish.

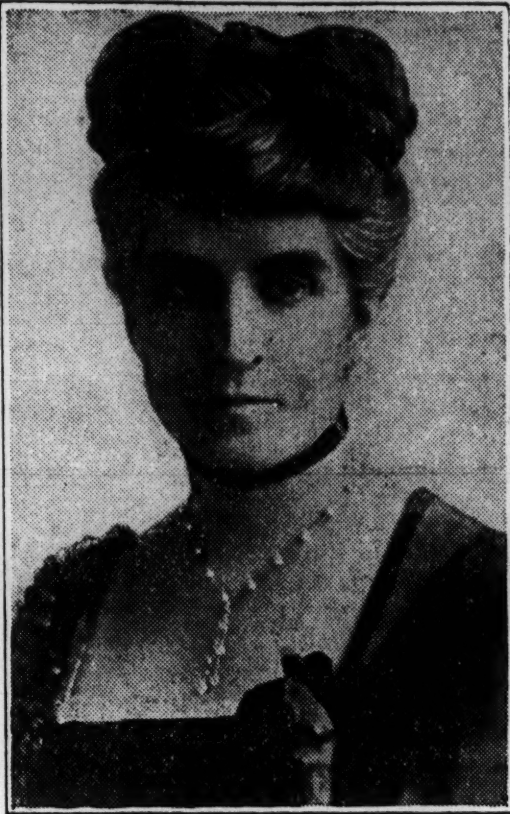
Press Comment on the "Susan B. Anthony" Amendment

A recent number of the *New York Call* comments on the two national suffrage amendments submitted to the last Congress;—the first, the measure drafted by Susan B. Anthony, prohibiting the disfranchisement of citizens because of sex; and the second, the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment, proposing to establish by federal amendment the initiative and referendum in the several states to be used for the settlement of the woman suffrage question alone. The *Call* says:

"The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment advocated by the National is a decidedly conservative one. Although it provides for the nation-wide enfranchisement of women, the method by which it proposes to accomplish that object is so slow and round-about, so complicated and difficult, that it does not offer any marked advantage over the old method of winning woman suffrage state by state. The * * * Susan B. Anthony Amendment, introduced by the Congressional Union * * * is decidedly revolutionary. It strikes out along entirely new lines, endeavoring to win nation-wide woman suffrage by a quick, simple and direct method of amending the Constitution of the nation. The National says it is too radical to hope for success. The Congressional Union says that a measure of success has already been achieved by having the amendment discussed and voted on in Congress, and that it will come up again and with stronger chances of victory."

THERE is some misconception of the situation in this comment. The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, as its name signifies, can hardly be called revolutionary. It was drafted by the founders of the suffrage movement in America—the best minds which that movement has produced in this country. It has been endorsed by every national convention of suffragists in this country year after year since 1878. Those who are supporting it are simply following the earliest and best traditions of the American suffrage movement.

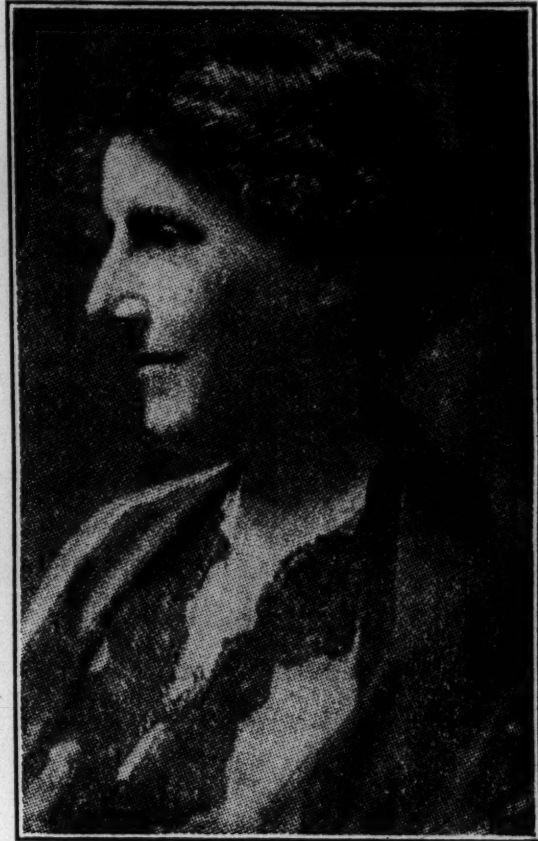
MEETING OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL IN NEW YORK



MRS. JOHN WINTERS BRANNAN



MISS EDYTHE WYNNE MATTHISON



MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

PLANs to organize the sentiment in favor of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, prohibiting the disfranchisement of citizens because of sex, will be made at the meeting of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, called for Tuesday, March 31st, at the home of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, in New York City.

The national suffrage movement has gained immense prestige during the past two years. In the course of one Congress it has leaped from the region of the academic to the forefront of practical political politics. The federal suffrage amendment, which had slumbered in Committee for seventeen years in the Senate and twenty years in the House, received in 1914 and 1915 a heavy vote on the floor of both Houses.

Now with the departure of Congress from Washington comes the opportunity to so build up our strength throughout the country that the demand for the federal suffrage amendment in December, 1915, will be irresistible. Nothing less can be expected at our present rate of advance.

THE conference in New York, then, will be entirely practical in character.

The members of the Advisory Council and their friends will gather on March 31st at a luncheon beginning at 12:30. The luncheon will be held in the "Peg Woffington" Coffee House. Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Treasurer of the Women's Political Union, of New York, and member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, will preside over the speaking.

There will be two business sessions, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. The afternoon session, which will open at 3 P. M., will be devoted to discussion of the suffrage amendments presented to the last Congress; and to adopting a plan of organizing the branches of the Congressional Union now growing up in different parts of the country. In the evening session the political history of the suffrage amendment will be reviewed, and plans for future work submitted.

At the afternoon session Mrs. Florence Kelley, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union and Secretary of the National Consumers' League, will open discussion on the question: Which constitutional amendment for woman suffrage shall we support in the next Congress? There will be a full discussion of the "Susan B. Anthony" amendment and the "state sovereignty" substitute introduced in the last Congress by Senator Shafroth and Mr. Mitchell Palmer.

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, President of the Just Government League of Maryland, and member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union, will submit to the Council a plan establishing a permanent constitutional relation between various branches of the Congressional Union in different sections of the country. As the Union has extended over the country, a need has arisen for some settled and uniform relationship between the head and the branches. The adoption of a constitution embracing the local organizations of the Union will make the conference one of the most important in its history.

Mrs. William L. Colt, of New York, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, will discuss the question of national amendment literature, now sorely needed.

The afternoon session will be closed by Mrs. Gilson Gardner, wife of the widely-known newspaper correspondent, and member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union, who will speak on the change produced by the November elections in the membership of the Senate and House; and on the political complexion of the 64th Congress.

After this session tea will be served by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont to the members of the Council and their friends.

IN the evening Mrs. Annie Porritt, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union and press chairman of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, will speak on the "Political Work and Ideals of Susan B. Anthony." Mrs. William Kent will give the history of the early work for the national suffrage amendment; Miss Lucy Burns will review the record of the 63rd Congress; and Miss Alice Paul will submit in outline plans for the coming year.

A large number of the members of the Advisory Council have already said they would be present at this meeting, which will mark a new stage in the history of national work for woman suffrage. Among these are Mrs. Annie Porritt, of Connecticut; Mrs. Robert Adamson, of New York; Mrs. George A. Armes, of Washington, D. C., President of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Wilson and Marshall League; Mrs. Oscar Davisson, of Dayton, Ohio, President of the Dayton and Montgomery County Woman Suffrage Association, and a member of the Executive Board of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, of Illinois; and Miss Hazel MacKaye, of Washington, D. C., who is preparing the suffrage pageant on the life of Susan B. Anthony.

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"IS SUFFRAGE A NATIONAL ISSUE?"

THE suffrage movement has reached the point in its development where its chief problem is one of tactics. Suffragists have ceased to bandy arguments with "Antis"; and are considering only a choice of roads to success; and our enemies in public life, instead of attacking the justice of woman suffrage, are attempting merely to divert it into the most devious channels.

Almost all of our opponents in Congress today, we find, express a very friendly interest in woman suffrage; but they are persuaded—they tell us—that "it is not a national issue;" it is a question for the states.

Nevertheless, it is becoming clearer every day that it is a national issue, and that our best course, strategically, lies in national and not in state work. We have now won eleven states for suffrage out of the total forty-eight. We have thirty-seven to conquer. If we were to work only state by state we would divide the suffrage movement into thirty-seven parts and correspondingly weaken our strength and financial resources. If we work with Congress we can direct the whole strength of the suffrage movement throughout the nation upon the 531 Senators and Representatives, who gather at Washington to represent the entire country.

Congress, moreover, is more sensitive to pressure from suffragists than the legislatures of those states where women are as yet unenfranchised, for Congress contains the Representatives of 4,000,000 women from the eleven suffrage states, and from Illinois, where women are partially enfranchised. One-fourth of the Senate, one-sixth of the House, and one-fifth of the electoral vote now comes from states where women are active in national political campaigns. This gives us a powerful weapon within Congress itself which does not exist in any of the legislatures of the "unfree states." It would be folly for suffragists to leave this power unused.

Even if we did not have this great advantage in Congress, it would be to our advantage to work for suffrage nationally, for the procedure of amending the federal Constitution is much simpler and more direct than that of amending the constitutions of the separate states; not to speak of amending the constitutions of all the states, one after the other.

When a state constitution is changed, the amendment must be passed by a large majority, usually by a two-thirds vote, in both state houses; sometimes in two successive years, sometimes by two successive legislatures. After that the amendment must be ratified, in all states save one, by a majority vote of the male electors of the entire state.

When the national Constitution is amended we need to secure a two-thirds majority only in Congress. After that a simple majority vote in three-fourths of the state legislatures will enact it into law; and no referendum of the people is necessary.

If the amendment is through Congress once, it is through Congress always, and is thereafter before the states for ratification. If a state ratifies an amendment submitted by Congress, it ratifies it for

good and all. If it rejects the proposed amendment, the rejection can be reconsidered. Our amendment once passed by Congress, we can proceed with comparative ease to secure a majority vote in one state legislature after the other.

therefore, it does not receive the unbiased verdict of the men of the land. The scales are heavily weighted against women before the issue is decided. It is unreasonable for women to submit to these conditions.

It is true that women have gained the right to vote in eleven states by state action; but this happened in the western states where the population is widely scattered, and where political organizations did not have a grip on as great a proportion of the voters as they have in the densely populated East. As the fight moves eastward, the state-by-state method becomes more and more impracticable.

Some "democratic" citizens contend that the people must be given the opportunity to vote directly upon a question so important as that of woman suffrage. But there is no law in reason or equity which gives the men of the country the moral right to say whether the women of the country shall be free or not. Men have an "inherent" right to decide their own affairs, but they have no inherent right to decide the affairs of women. There is really no "democratic" way of enfranchising a vast body of citizens. The existing disfranchisement of these citizens is undemocratic, root and branch. The most democratic method of redressing the injustice is the shortest method. To drive the suffrage question through thirty-seven state referendums in the name of democracy would be flagrantly insincere.

It has been contended that a federal suffrage amendment is unconstitutional, since the Constitution leaves the question of franchise to the states. But the Constitution does not by any means give the state unreserved control over the franchise. It provides that the members of the House of Representatives should be voted for directly by the people—those voting for the most numerous branch of the state legislatures. If Congress did not specify the qualifications of

the national electorate, it was because the qualifications then existing in the separate states varied so widely that it was difficult to find one upon which all the states would agree. As a matter of convenience, therefore, the most democratic franchise in each state was adopted as the national electorate, but the right of the national government to determine the national electorate was affirmed by these very specifications, and was later reaffirmed by the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

But even if it were true that the Constitution now gives the state entire control over the question of franchise, that would not affect the point at issue. *We are proposing an amendment to the Constitution, which will only become law when adopted by the states according to the procedure laid down in the Constitution by the consent of the states themselves.*

FOR such an amendment the time is ripe, and over-ripe. We have come to the point in the history of the suffrage movement where we need to unite the suffrage forces scattered throughout the country, and demand the enfranchisement of American women by a United States Constitutional amendment.



Drawn by Sarah Towle Moller

MISS ALICE PAUL, CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
A Society Supporting Exclusively the Federal Suffrage Amendment

IT is obvious that this method is infinitely more economical of women's time, money and energy than the method of appealing to the mass of male electors throughout the entire United States, taking them state by state. It is not possible for women to conduct immense popular referenda. Women, forming as they do a disfranchised class, are economically inferior to men. They enter fewer professions and they are paid less wages than men in the professions they do enter. The mass of women occupied as wives and mothers receive no compensation whatever for their services to the home and the community; they have not the money to finance immense popular campaigns. Moreover, in such a task they are pitted against political organizations fed by every financial interest in the land. These political organizations are almost invariably opposed to woman suffrage, not because they believe it to be unjust, but because they fear the effect of women's vote upon the fortunes of their party, and do not wish to take the chance of any great alteration of the electorate. They control thousands of votes which are cast in complete obedience to a whispered word from above. When the question of woman suffrage goes before the male electors,

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

California

Headquarters: *Congressional Union Booth in the Palace of Education, Exposition Grounds, San Francisco.*

Organizer: *Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

A GREAT chart is being prepared for the Congressional Union booth, giving the vote on suffrage of every United States Senator and Representative. This will give each one who visits the booth a bird's eye view of the suffrage situation in Congress.

We are planning to hold an international meeting made up of women from all parts of the world where women are enfranchised,—New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Finland, Iceland, the Isle of Man, and the enfranchised states of America. This meeting will be held in the first week of June, when the Federation of Women's Clubs will be in San Francisco. The Exposition is such a wonderful gathering place for the women of every nation that it gives a glorious opportunity to express the essential unity of women.

We are keeping a register of visitors at the suffrage booth. It will be quite an extraordinary document at the close of the Exposition. Our first register, which has the name of the Congressional Union stamped in gold on the cover, was contributed by Miss Julia George, state president of the College Club. Already we have people from sixteen different states registered.—*Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

Colorado

Headquarters: *324 Seventeenth Street, Denver.*

Organizer: *Miss Ruth Astor Noyes.*

WE had a splendid meeting at headquarters yesterday, Friday, March 12th. Mrs. Hadley, one of our new members, presided at the tea table; in subscribing to *The Suffragist*, she said she believed it was a most valuable little paper and one which should be of interest to all women.

On Monday evening, March 15th, I will address the Professional Women's League. We already have a number of prominent doctors of Denver in our ranks and hope to secure the interest of many others on Monday evening.

The Suffragist continues to have a ready sale. It is delightful to see the growth of interest in the paper.—*Ruth Astor Noyes.*

Delaware

Headquarters: *305 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington.*

Chairman: *Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles.*

Organizers: *Miss Mabel Vernon; Miss Anna McCue; Mrs. Edna S. Latimer.*

ON Wednesday, March 20th, the day after the defeat of the suffrage amendment in Delaware, a street meeting was held at the corner of 5th and Market Streets, Wilmington, at which Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Anna McCue, and Mrs. Edna S. Latimer were the speakers. The meeting was a formal indication of the determination of Delaware suffragists to continue the fight for state and national enfranchisement.

In honor of the Delaware campaign committee on suffrage, which is composed of Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman, member of the Advisory Council of

the Congressional Union; Miss Edith Spruance, Treasurer; and Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, and Miss Anna McCue, organizers for the Congressional Union, Wilmington suffragists gave a luncheon on Thursday, March 11th, in the Rose Room of the Hotel DuPont. This was held to adopt plans for suffrage work during the remaining months of the year in Delaware.

On Friday, March 12th, George W. Stone, ex-Mayor of Santa Cruz, California, and now a member of the Board of Education of that state, addressed a meeting in the parlors of the New Century Club at Wilmington. Mr. Stone pointed out the valuable effects of the women's vote in California upon the whole tone of politics there.

Three meetings in the Wilmington headquarters have been arranged for next week. On Monday night a meeting for the school teachers is planned at which Miss Ellen Sanwarth, principal of the Wilmington schools, will speak; on Tuesday there will be a meeting for business women, at which Miss Anna McCue will be the speaker; and on Thursday night, a meeting for the home-makers will be held.

Members of the Congressional Union in Delaware are planning, now that the vote has been taken in the state legislature, to organize a meeting in Wilmington to consider ways and means of assisting the national suffrage work.—*Anna McCue.*

District of Columbia

Headquarters: *1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.*

Organizer: *Miss Isabella Mott.*

Last Saturday morning Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the Consumers' League of New York; Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent, of California; and Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of Congressman-elect E. J. Hill, of Connecticut, spoke at the regular Saturday morning open meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs of the District of Columbia.

A street meeting was held at noon, Miss Elsie Hill speaking.

A meeting was held in Baltimore Thursday afternoon, at which Mrs. Nina E. Allender, the art editor of *The Suffragist*, and one of the first members of the Congressional Union, spoke on the need of federal work for woman suffrage. Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, who has been helping the state campaign in Delaware for the Congressional Union, spoke on her recent work in that state.

We are now arranging for a large meeting at the residence of Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins on Sunday afternoon, March 28th. Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Union, will speak; and Mrs. Edna S. Latimer. Miss Hazel MacKaye will read "War Brides," the wonderful play which is probably doing more to educate people to the necessity of woman suffrage than any other piece of literature.—*Isabella Mott.*

Illinois

A MEETING is to be held on Saturday, March 20th, at the home of Miss Gertrude Crocker, 109 South Elm Street, Hinsdale; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, a member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union, will speak on "Federal Work for Woman Suffrage." Mrs. Gardner will speak again on Sunday, March 21st, to the Chicago members of the Congressional Union, at the home of Miss Maud Clark, 5337 Harper Avenue; this will be the first of a series of monthly meetings in the Illinois field in the interest of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.—*Gertrude Crocker.*

New York

Headquarters: *13 East Forty-first Street, New York City.*

Organizer: *Miss Doris Stevens.*

Mrs. William L. Colt, New York Chairman of the Legislative Committee, is arranging the voting records of Congressional delegations from every state in the Union, in a form reproduced on charts similar to those used in New York; the chart giving the voting record of the New York delegation was printed in *The Suffragist* of February 27th. Any suffragist interested, may secure this information for her state by writing to Mrs. Colt, at 13 East Forty-first Street, New York City.

On Monday, March 15th, Mrs. Colt spoke at a large political mass meeting in the 24th Congressional District, Bronxville, represented by Mr. Woodson R. Oglesby; Mr. Oglesby failed to vote on the federal suffrage amendment in the House of Representatives on January 12th.

Mrs. Colt called the attention of Mr. Oglesby's constituents to his suffrage record and urged them to see that he voted "Aye" when the amendment was next acted upon by the House.

Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs spoke for the Congressional Union at three very fine meetings last week,—at the Claremont Club, at a meeting of the Women's Political Union on Saturday, and at the Studio Club on Monday afternoon. At all three meetings Mrs. Stubbs aroused the warmest interest in national suffrage work.—*Doris Stevens.*

Oregon

Headquarters: *514 Eilers Building, Portland.*

Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

MRS. EMMA E. MORGAN, of Portland, has accepted the chairmanship of the committee that will arrange for the Oregon suffrage exhibit at the Congressional Union booth in the Panama-Pacific Exposition. Among other things of interest will be the prize won by the suffrage float in the Rose Festival parade, together with a picture of the float; photographs of the Oregon Sustaining Committee; of the Oregon Senator, Miss Kathryn Clark, and of the Oregon Representative, Miss Marian Towne; a picture of Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway taken with Governor Oswald West when he signed the bill giving freedom to Oregon women; and another showing her registering as the first woman voter in Oregon.

I am delighted to read in today's paper the endorsement which Hon. James Withycombe, Governor of Oregon, publicly gives to our work for national suffrage. It is very gratifying, indeed, to have both the Governor and the ex-Governor assure us of their hearty co-operation in our struggle for woman's national political freedom.

Another man of great influence who has thrown his strength on our side is Dr. C. H. Chapman, one of the foremost thinkers and most powerful lecturers in Oregon. He is also one of the best writers of the telling editorials of the *Oregonian*, for which that paper is noted throughout the whole country.

Mrs. Maud L. Richards, who is now contending for her position as teacher in the Portland schools, will speak for us on the relation of national woman suffrage to the married-teacher problem. Mrs. Richards lost her place because of her marriage a few months past. She is a woman of splendid intelligence and we feel fortunate in having her co-operation.—*Virginia Arnold.*

Treasurer's Report

Make All Checks Payable to
The Treasurer of the Congressional Union
 1420 F St., Washington, D. C.
 This Will Save Much Inconvenience

THE Congressional Union, to me, means the freeing of over eight million women of my own sunny South, who would never be freed if we have to wait for the vote by way of the States. Born in the city of New Orleans, raised to believe in the Democratic Party, I am proud to be able to show that Party their mistake and to help right the great wrong that they as a body are committing toward the women of this country; hence I am yours for service." Thus writes a woman voter of Colorado in sending in a contribution to the treasury of the Congressional Union.

Congress has now adjourned and several months will intervene before it reassembles. Let us unite during this interval in raising a fund which will enable us to put through such a campaign for the national amendment as will make its passage certain. If each reader of *The Suffragist* will contribute one dollar toward the Susan B. Anthony fund, we will be able to conduct a campaign far surpassing in vigor any which the suffrage movement has yet seen. A dollar from ten thousand people amounts to a large sum. Will you be one of the ten thousand?

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD \$100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MARCH 8 THROUGH MARCH 16

Mrs. S. M. Stoddard	\$1.00
Mrs. A. M. Pollard	1.00
Mrs. Howard G. Warren.....	25.00
Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins.....	2.00
National Council of Women Voters.....	5.00
Mrs. Gould	5.00
Dr. Mary Thompson	1.50
Mrs. L. Marchette	.50
Dr. Mary Stratton	25.00
Mrs. John Dewey	6.00
B. M.	1.50
Mrs. Glendower Evans	25.00
Mrs. Edward N. Breitung	500.00
Mrs. Victor H. Troendle	1.00
Mrs. Agnes Savage	1.00
Mrs. Bert Winter	1.00
Mrs. Harvey C. Garber.....	10.00
Miss Kate Lacey	10.00
Miss Mabel M. Gridley	1.00
Miss Minnie Wolf	1.00
Anonymous	1.00
Mrs. O. F. Davisson	5.00
Mrs. Cyrus E. Mead.....	5.00
Mrs. Dickey Graves	10.00
Mr. M. M. Goldberg	10.00
<i>Susan B. Anthony Fund</i>	
<i>Per Miss Isabella Mott, Chairman</i>	
A Friend	10.00
Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins.....	1.00
Miss H. E. Brennan	1.00
Miss M. F. Brennan	1.00
Miss Viola Thorwarth	1.00
Miss Nellie Sweet	2.00
Mrs. George Warren	1.00
Mrs. William Kent	5.00
Miss Anna McCue	1.00
Miss Elizabeth Fairall (Collected)....	5.00
Mrs. A. H. Bright	1.00

Collections	1.00
Membership fees	15.75

Total \$700.25
 Previously acknowledged in the *Suffragist* \$57,249.94

Total through March 16, 1915.....\$57,950.19

One Thousand New Subscribers

MRS. Alice M. A. Pickler, Vice President of the Woman Suffrage Association of South Dakota, in renewing her subscription to the *Suffragist*, writes: "The paper is an inspiration. I read it all through without stopping and give the numbers away for others to read." Will you not follow this example and pass your paper on so that it may carry its message as far as possible?

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to The Suffragist

MARCH 8 TO MARCH 15

(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

Mrs. Florence F. Graves	2
Mrs. Alice Snitjer Burke	1
Miss Vivian Pierce	2
Miss Virginia J. Arnold.....	1
Mrs. Jane Bliss Potter	2
Mrs. M. K. Macarty.....	1
Miss Doris Stevens	11

20

Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*.....640

Total to March 15th.....660

New Members of the Advisory Council

MRS. EMMA MADDOX FUNCK, President of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association, and wife of Dr. J. William Funck, of Baltimore, has joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Funck has a wide influence in Maryland, and her support of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment will be invaluable in her state.

Other new members of the Advisory Council who will greatly increase the influence of the Congressional Union in their states are Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, of Indianapolis, wife of the well-known author and one of the most important and devoted suffragists in the middle west; Mrs. Harvey C. Garber, wife of one of Ohio's leading political generals, many times chairman of the state Democratic Committee of Ohio; Mrs. Oscar F. Davisson, of Dayton, Ohio, President of the Dayton and Montgomery County Woman Suffrage Association, and a member of the Executive Board of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association; and Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, one of the leading women lawyers of the District of Columbia, and until lately Dean of the Washington College of Law.

The Mississippi Valley Conference on Federal Woman Suffrage

MISS DORIS STEVENS, who represented the Congressional Union at the Mississippi Valley Conference, reported on her return that the sentiment at the Mississippi Valley Conference was overwhelmingly in favor of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. Many of the delegates became members of the Congressional Union and subscribed to *The Suffragist*.

After attending the Mississippi Valley Conference last week, Miss Stevens held several meetings in Ohio. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Miss Stevens both spoke at a reception given in

their honor by Mrs. George D. Jones, of Columbus; and on the evening of the same day, they spoke in Carnegie Hall at a meeting organized by Mrs. Julius F. Stone, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. A resolution of protest, against the adverse vote of Congressman Brumbaugh, of Ohio, on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, was unanimously adopted.

At a luncheon given for Miss Stevens by Mrs. Stone at the Columbus Club, plans were laid for strengthening the Ohio support of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. A conference of local workers in Dayton on Friday resulted in the women present agreeing to cooperate to their utmost in pressing the passage of this amendment in the next Congress. An evening meeting in Dayton also called forth a general response to the plea for this work. A resolution was unanimously adopted protesting against the unfavorable vote on the Federal Amendment cast by Representative Gard, of that district.

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The number of different styles we are featuring at this price would seem to give a range that would make it possible for every woman to find one to suit her.

Plain with hemstitch finish down front, and rolled organdy collar; box-pleated waists; waists trimmed with black moire ribbon and jet buttons, ornamented with a dainty rosebud at the side of the collar opening; plain crepe de chine, tucked front, with the new two-in-one collar; embroidered crepe de chine, and one style which has been taken directly from our \$3.95 table, simply because we had a duplicate order of one color, giving us too many of that particular shade. The style of this waist is a very popular one, hem-stitched inserts in yoke with cluster tucks and box pleat below.

Colors in the lot are pink, flesh, putty, sand, Belgian blue, tete de negre, Oregon green, also white and black.
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